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- ART. VI. — 1. "*Vox Oculis Subjecta*"; a Dissertation on the most curious and important Art of imparting Speech and the Knowledge of Language to the naturally Deaf, and (consequently) Dumb; with a particular Account of the Academy of Messrs. Braidwood of Edinburgh, and a Proposal to perpetuate and extend the Benefits thereof. By a Parent (FRANCIS GREEN of Boston). London: Sold by Benjamin White, No. 63 Fleet Street. 1783. 8vo. pp. xvi., 224.
2. *First, Second, and Third Annual Reports of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts.* 1864, 1865, 1866.
3. *The Fiftieth Annual Report of the Directors and Officers of the American Asylum at Hartford, for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb.* Presented to the Asylum, May 12, 1866. pp. 72.
4. *Remarks upon the Education of Deaf Mutes: in Defence of the Doctrines of the Second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, and in Reply to the Charges of the Rev. Collins Stone, Principal of the American Asylum at Hartford.* Boston: Walker, Fuller, & Co. 1866. pp. 58.
5. *Remarks on the Theories of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, respecting the Education of Deaf Mutes, as set forth in the Second Report of the Board of State Charities.* By a Native of Massachusetts. 1867. pp. 24.
6. *How to educate the Deaf and Dumb. A short Exposition of the proposed Plan for the Establishment of Day Schools for teaching the Deaf and Dumb to speak, by means of Articulation and Lip Reading, on Mr. Mary's System.* By J. COPLESTON. London. 1866. pp. 31.

It is now more than thirty years since the education of the deaf and dumb was fully discussed in these pages. The establishments for this purpose in the United States were then few and recent; the methods of instruction were such as a limited experience, gained in a single city of Europe, and practised on a few hundred pupils in America, had suggested. At present, there are twenty-five establishments in the United States, one of which claims the title of a Deaf-Mute College; the num-

ber of pupils in them is at least two thousand, and their officers have had the opportunity of comparing their modes of instruction with those practised in the various countries of Europe. It will not be amiss, therefore, even at the risk of repeating what was said in 1834,* to notice the origin and the progress of Deaf-Mute Education on both sides of the ocean, particularly in regard to the method of articulation. As Sir William Hamilton has truly said,† in this matter “theory did not merely follow practice,—it long prevented its application; *and the deaf and dumb had actually been taught the use of speech before the philosophers would admit their capacity of instruction.*” The first instances that we find of the restoration of speech to the dumb are set down as miracles.

From misunderstanding a passage in Aristotle, wherein he declared that, of all the senses, hearing contributes most to intelligence (*εἰς φρόνησιν πλείστον*), and from neglecting another dictum of his, that dumbness is generally caused by deafness alone, the learned, and especially the physicians, fell into the double error of supposing that the dumb could never learn to speak, and that the deaf must always remain in ignorance. To this error Justinian added his legal, and St. Augustine his ecclesiastical sanction, although the latter may not have intended to exclude the poor deaf mute entirely from the kingdom of heaven, as some more recent writers have striven to do.‡ At any rate, it was the Church, so far as we know, that first demonstrated the capacity of the deaf mute for instruction. The earliest recorded instance is found in the writings of the Venerable Bede, who declares that his former superior, John, Bishop of Hagulstad, about the year 650, taught a

* At that time, Degerando's work, *De l'Education des Sourds-Muets de Naissance*, (Paris, 1827,) was comparatively new. The article referred to embodied much of the information contained in that charming treatise; but it gave also important information concerning the American institutions for the deaf and dumb. Speaking of all the known establishments in Europe, the writer said: “The number of institutions in which articulation is taught constitute a great majority of the whole. Among them we are able to include none now existing in America.”

† In his article on George Dalgarno in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1835, reprinted in the “Discussions on Philosophy and Literature.”

‡ The words of Augustine are these: “Quod vitium ipsum impedit fidem; nam surdus natu literas, quibus lectis fidem concipiat, discere non potest.” This does not exclude other means of conception.

man deaf from birth to speak some words and to understand many things.*

The next instance recorded, and the first cited by Sir William Hamilton (who, if we may believe Degerando, misquotes his author), is that mentioned by Rodolphus Agricola, who was born at Groningen in 1443, and died in 1485.† “I have seen,” says Agricola, “a person deaf from birth, and of course dumb, who had learned to comprehend anything written down by other persons, and who himself expressed in writing all his thoughts, just as if he had possessed the use of speech.” Luis Vives, in the next century, called in question the assertion of Agricola with as much incredulity as the managers of the Hartford Asylum now display in regard to articulation.‡ Vives, in this, falls back upon the statement of Aristotle, that the ear is the organ of instruction: without hearing, therefore, no knowledge. But this statement, though true in a general way, as is Dr. Howe’s maxim, that “hearing is the mother of speech,” does not hold good in all cases. A countryman of Vives, a young man when the treatise *De Anima* was published, lived to disprove the universality of both these axioms. Pedro Ponce de Leon, born in 1520 of a noble family in Valladolid, a Benedictine monk of the monastery of San Salvador de Oña, where he died in 1584, was the first whom we know to have taught the deaf and dumb to speak; and Spain must have the honor of first witnessing and appreciating this remarkable event. Ponce de Leon was a friend of Francisco Valles, the illustrious Spanish physician, contemporary with Cervantes, and is mentioned by Valles in one of his books.

According to this writer, § Ponce taught congenital mutes to speak (*natos surdos docebat loqui*), simply by teaching them first to write in characters the names of objects pointed out to

* The passage in question is in Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, and was first cited by the late Abbé Carton in his Journal, III. 72. John of Hagulstad was canonized as St. John of Beverly.

† *De Inventionem Dialecticam*, Lib. III. This work was printed in Paris in 1539, half a century after the author’s death. The passage may be found on folio 227.

‡ Lud. Viv. *De Anima*, Lib. II. Vives was a Spaniard, born in 1492. At one time he lived in England; he died in 1541.

§ Vallesii *Philosophia Sacra* (1590), Cap. III. This rare work is cited by Dan. Geo. Morhof in his *Polyhistor*, Lib. II. Cap. III. sec. 23; and also by Paul Zachias, *Quest. Med. Leg.*, Lib. II.

them, and then to enunciate the sounds corresponding to the characters (*deinde ad motus linguæ, qui characteribus responderent, provocando*). These "characters" were undoubtedly the letters of the Castilian alphabet, such as Bonet subsequently used; and, according to Ambrosio Morales,* another contemporary writer, the pupils of Ponce were two brothers and a sister of the Constable of Castile, and a son of the Governor of Aragon. This Constable was named Velasco, and one of his sons, according to Morales, had become a finished Latin scholar before he was twenty years old (although deaf from birth), under the instruction of Pedro Ponce. The good friar lies buried in the monastery where he died, and where they still preserve this record of his character: "*Anno Domini 1584, in the month of August, Brother Pedro Ponce fell asleep in the Lord. He was a benefactor of this house, illustrious for his virtues; but his crowning excellence, and that which gained him a deserved renown throughout the world, was his teaching the dumb to speak.*" †

Alas for the fame of benefactors! So little did the world value the great discovery of Ponce de Leon, and his renown gained thereby, that in less than forty years after his death he was forgotten, even in Spain, and another man, Juan Pablo Bonet, became the recognized founder of the school of instruction for deaf mutes which Ponce had begun. Bonet, without mentioning the name of the Benedictine monk from whom the main features of his system were taken, published in 1620, at Madrid, the first manual for teachers of the deaf and dumb which ever appeared, and in some respects still one of the best.‡ Bonet was himself a priest, and secretary to the Constable of Castile,—not the father, but the nephew, probably, of the pupils of Ponce. This nobleman, however, had also a deaf-mute brother, who had been taught to speak by Bonet. The articulation of this young man has been so

* *Descriptio Hispaniæ*, fol. 38. Morhofii *Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. II. Cap. 3, sec. 24. The reference in Degerando is wrong.

† Hervas y Panduro, Vol. I. See also a letter from Don Ferdinand Nunez de Taboada, cited by Gall in his "Anatomy and Physiology of the Nervous System."

‡ *Reduccion de las Letras, y Arte para enseñar a hablar los Mudos*. (Madrid, 1620, 4to.) For an excellent analysis of this rare book, see Dr. Peet's Essay read before the New York Deaf-Mute Convention in 1850.

well and so quaintly described by Sir Kenelm Digby, that his account deserves to be quoted. Digby was one of the suite of Prince Charles during his romantic journey to Spain in company with the Duke of Buckingham, in 1623, thirty-nine years after the death of Pedro Ponce, and no doubt fifty years after the first instruction of his pupils. It is scarcely possible, therefore, that the nobleman seen by Digby was a pupil of Ponce, as Sir William Hamilton supposes. The passage in Digby's "Treatise of Bodies" is as follows:—

There was "a nobleman of great quality that I knew in *Spain*, the younger brother of the Constable of *Castile*. . . . The Spanish lord was born deaf; so deaf that if a gun were shot off close by his ear he could not hear it, and consequently he was dumb; for not being able to hear the sound of words, he could never imitate nor understand them. The loveliness of his face, and especially the exceeding life and spiritfulness of his eyes, and the comeliness of his person, and whole composure of his body throughout, were pregnant signs of a well tempered mind within, and therefore all that knew him lamented much the want of means to cultivate it, and to imbue it with the motions which it seemed capable of, in regard of itself, had it not been so crossed by this unhappy accident. Which to remedy physicians and chyrurgions had long employed their skil, but all in vain. At last there was a priest who undertook the teaching him to understand others when they spoke, and to speak himself that others might understand him. What at the first he was laughed at for, made him after some years be looked on as if he had wrought a miracle. In a word, after strange patience, constancy, and pains, he brought the young lord to speak as distinctly as any man whoever; and to understand so perfectly what others said, that he would not lose a word in a whole day's conversation. . . . I have often discoursed [with the priest], whiles I waited upon the *Prince of Wales* (now our gracious Sovereign) in *Spain*; and I doubt not but his Majesty remembers all I have said of him and much more, for his Majesty was very curious to observe and enquire into the utmost of it. It is true, one great misbecomingness he was apt to fall into whiles he spoke: which was an uncertainty in the tone of his voyce, for not hearing the sound he made when he spoke, he could not steadily govern the pitch of his voyce, but it would be sometimes higher and sometimes lower, though for the most part what he deliverd together, he ended in the same key as he begun it. But when he had once suffered the passages of his voyce to close, at the opening them again, chance, or the measure of his earnestness to speak or reply, gave him his tone, which he was not capable

of moderating by such an artifice as 't is recorded Caius Gracchus used when passion in his orations to the people drove out his voice with too great a vehemence or shrillness. He could discern in another whether he spoke shril or low, and he would repeat after anybody any hard word whatever; which the Prince tried often, not only in *English*, but by making some *Welchmen* that served his highnesse speak words of their language, which he so perfectly ecchoed, that I confess I wondered more at that, then at all the rest; and his master himself would acknowledg that the rules of his art reached not to produce that effect with any certainty: and therefore concluded this in him must spring from other rules he had framed to himself out of his own attentive observation; which the advantage that nature had justly given him in the sharpness of his other senses, to supply the want of this, endowed him with an ability and sagacity to do, beyond any other man that had his hearing. He expressed it, surely, in a high measure by his so exact imitation of the *Welch* pronunciation: for that tongue (like the *Hebrew*) employs much the guttural letters, and the motions of that part which frames them cannot be seen or judged by the eye, otherwise then by the effect they may happily make by consent in the other parts of the mouth exposed to view. For the knowledg he had of what they said sprung from his observing the motions they made: so that he could converse currently in the light, though they he talked with whispered never so softly. And I have seen him at a distance of a large chamber's breadth say words after one, that I, standing close by the speaker could not hear a syllable of. But, if he were in the dark, or if one turned his face out of his sight, he was capable of nothing one said."*

This long description, bearing as it does all the marks of credibility to those who have ever seen a deaf mute well taught to articulate, has been quoted, not only as indicating the perfection with which Bonet practised his art, but as an example for modern times. And whoever will examine the manual published by Bonet will find that it contains something more than the rudiments of the modern system of phonetics.

It ought to be observed here, that so early as 1620 in Spain already four of the principal means of instructing the deaf and dumb had been employed with great success. These were

* Sir Kenelm Digby was born in 1603, and died in 1665. His "Treatise of Bodies," from which this extract is made, was first published in 1645. Bonet died in 1629. The date of his birth is unknown. He styled himself on his title-page, "Servant of His Majesty (of Spain) attached to the suite of the Captain-General of Artillery, and Secretary of the Constable of Castile."

(1.) Writing, (2.) Articulation, (3.) Reading the Lips, and (4.) the Manual Alphabet. The first three were unquestionably employed by Ponce de Leon, but there is no evidence that he used the manual alphabet, and this has been supposed to be an invention of Bonet's. The Abbé de l'Épée, who borrowed it, gave Bonet the credit, and claimed none for himself. If it be true, as Antonio avers,* that Bonet copied the system of his predecessor without acknowledging his obligation, the entire disuse of his own system in Spain may be regarded as a just retribution. For it seems to be true that Spain, the native country of so great an art as that of teaching the dumb to speak, had altogether lost it before the end of the seventeenth century, and this too in spite of the labors and alleged success of another skilful Spanish teacher, Ramirez de Carion, who is said to have educated a deaf mute, a Prince of Carignan.† At all events, when the Abbé de l'Épée had made deaf-mute instruction fashionable throughout Europe, his method was introduced bodily into Spain, where no traces remained of the earlier, and in some respects better, system of Ponce and Bonet except, rare copies of the Manual of the latter, and the forgotten epitaph of the former.‡ And yet it was a Spanish Jew from Estremadura, on the Portuguese frontier, whose success in teaching deaf mutes at Paris, about 1748, inspired De l'Épée with admiration and rivalry, and stimulated his benevolent efforts.

During the seventeenth century, the command of the seas and the better parts of civilization migrated from Spain to England, Holland, and Germany. In such good company, the art of teaching the dumb apparently migrated also, for the next important steps were taken in these countries. The narrative of Sir Kenelm Digby just cited was copied into the "Philocophus" of Dr. John Bulwer,—a work published in London in 1648.§ In presenting the passage to his readers,

* In his *Bibliotheca Hispana*.

† It is evident that little is really known concerning Ramirez de Carion, and Morhof doubts the claim which Antonio advanced in his behalf.

‡ Since then the method of Bonet has been revived in Spain.

§ Philocophus, or the Deafe and Dumbe Man's Friend, exhibiting the Philosophical Verity of that subtile Art which may inable one with an observant Eie, to heare what any Man speaks by the Moving of his Lips. Upon the same Ground, with the

Bulwer introduced it by remarks so sensible, that they may well be quoted, and commended to the attention of such as believe little in the possibilities of deaf-mute instruction. "So lazie and sluggish," says Bulwer (Chapter XV.), "are the naturall inclinations of most men, *that they are prone to limit the infinite capacity of man, and the effects of his admirable observations, to known and common matters*: whereas, considering his abilities, and the faculty of his braine, there is no accident of imperfection that may befall him, but with the indulgent co-operation of nature, he may worke himselfe either out of it, or invent a supply to the defect and inconveniences of it."

Apart from such observations as this, the chief value of Bulwer's book is in its collection of remarkable instances of the deaf and dumb who had learned to read and write, some known to the author, and others of whom he had heard. Among the former he mentions Sir Edward Gostwicke of Bedfordshire, and "one Master Babington of Burntwood" (Brentwood?) "in the county of Essex, an ingenious gentleman, who, through some sickness becoming deafe, doth, notwithstanding, feele words, and as if he had an eie in his finger, sees signes in the dark; whose wife discourseth very perfectly with him by a strange way of arthrologie or alphabet contrived on the joynts of his fingers; for he, feeling the joynts which she toucheth for letters, by them collected into words very readily conceives what she would suggest to him." (p. 106.) This last example is the more curious, because it does not appear that Bulwer understood the manual alphabet, and because it suggests the method by which Laura Bridgman was taught. Bulwer was succeeded in Great Britain by Holder, Wallis, Sibscote, and Dalgarno, all of whom, before the year 1690, had written more or less on the instruction of deaf mutes. Of these writers, Dr. Wallis is the best known, and George Dalgarno is the most admirable in the eyes of his Scotch countrymen. He has been rescued from oblivion by the

Advantage of an historical Exemplification, apparently proving that a Man born Deafe and Dumbe, may be taught to heare the Sounds of Words with his Eie, and thence learne to speak with his Tongue. By J. B., sirnamed the Chirosopher. London, 1648. 8vo.

diligence of Dugald Stewart and Sir William Hamilton, who claim that he invented the finger alphabet. But his best title to fame is the familiar story (for which he probably furnished the original hint) of the Spanish Ambassador and the Aberdeen professor of signs.

Dr. Wallis did actually teach articulation to a few deaf mutes,* together with the art of reading the lips. The same thing may have been done by Holder; it certainly was accomplished by Amman, a Swiss physician settled in Holland, about the year 1690. In his letter to Hudde, a magistrate of Amsterdam, written in 1700, Amman thus relates the story of one of his pupils:—

“Neither did I long abide there” (at Schaffhausen), “for I was willingly constrained by the entreaties of a most friendly man to return to Harlem, for the sake of instructing a deaf daughter of his, who, having been born deaf, was also dumb, which purpose I almost more than effected, and the success far surpassed my own hopes, as well as those of her father; for that charming girl, in the short space of two months, could not only read tolerably plain, but also take down on paper any words slowly pronounced. She now converses, not amiss, on any subject; and, although deaf, she hears with her eyes what others speak, and replies readily to interrogations.” †

Amman had been preceded in Holland by Montanus in 1635,‡ and by F. M. Van Helmont in 1667;§ but the theories of all these learned men respecting language take away from the value of their observations.

When these statements of Amman, Wallis, Van Helmont, and others were made public, they came to the knowledge of a writer who could turn everything to his own purpose with astonishing facility. De Foe, then in the height of his activity, caught readily at the new art for the sake of adding a new feature to his novels of character. In 1720, he published his “History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell, a Gentleman, who, tho’ Deaf and Dumb, writes down any Stranger’s Name at first Sight; with their future Contingencies of

* See his letter to Dr. Beverley.

† Translated by Green in his *Vox Oculis Subjecta*, pp. 113, 115.

‡ *Bericht van eene kieuwe Konst, genaemt de Spreekkonst*. Delfhaven, 1635.

§ *Alphabeti Vere Naturalis*, etc. Salzburg, 1667.

Fortune";—a most amusing and plausible mixture of truth and fable, into which he contrived to weave a considerable part of the method of instruction used by Dr. Wallis. The year before, he had ventured a smaller book of the same kind, called "The Dumb Philosopher," in which he inserted a plate showing the manual alphabet as then used. And it is curious to add that the naturalist, Henry Baker, a son-in-law of De Foe, was afterwards a successful teacher of deaf mutes, being the person mentioned by Dr. Johnson in 1773, "who once flattered me with hopes of seeing his method published."*

While De Foe was growing old in England, a young Estremaduran scholar—an adventurer, like De Foe, but, like him, an adventurer for the good of mankind—was coming into notice in France. Jacob Rodriguez Pereire, by far the best teacher of articulation to deaf mutes of all whom we know, began his labors in this direction about 1734, in Bordeaux. He appeared in Paris before 1749, when he brought one of his pupils to the notice of the Academy of Science, of which Buffon was a prominent member. This pupil was sixteen years old when Pereire undertook to teach him; but in spite of this, he had in a few months learned thirteen hundred words, and pronounced them all very distinctly. Buffon has left a brief account of this case,† in which he pays a high compliment to the skill of Pereire. A few years later, Pereire's most celebrated pupil, the deaf mute Saboureux de Fontenai, was also exhibited by him to the Academy.‡ Pereire instructed him for some years, but does not seem to have taught him either articulation or reading on the lips, although he gave these accomplishments to most of his pupils.

We have now come to the period which is commonly regarded as that when the instruction of the deaf and dumb began,—the epoch of the Abbé de l'Épée. This good man—who in reality invented nothing, but adapted to the use of his pupils the system of Bonet, and the imperfect language of signs as he

* Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland. This book contains the well-known account of Mr. Braidwood's school of articulation at Edinburgh.

† *Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme*, Vol. II. pp. 32–34 (Sonnini's edition).

‡ Degerando, Part II. Chap. IV. There is a Life of Pereire by Dr. Edward Seguin, but it is an extremely rare book.

found it in France — nevertheless deserves the glory of having rendered general the education of deaf mutes. He had not the genius of Pereire, but he excelled him in benevolence, and he could not rest until he had set on foot a plan for the gratuitous instruction of the deaf and dumb. Beginning his little school in Paris, in 1755, he never had the satisfaction of seeing it adopted as a national institution; for he died in 1789, and Louis XVI. endowed it as a public establishment in 1791. But from the seed which he planted grew many of the establishments in Europe, and all those in America.

At first, De l'Épée, like Pereire, Bonet, and Ponce de Leon, laid much stress on teaching the dumb to speak; * but he gradually fell more and more into the use of signs, to which his successes have been unreservedly attached.

It is the later method of the Abbé de l'Épée, as modified by Sicard and practised by Laurent Clerc, that the Hartford Asylum adopted and for many years maintained; † and it is this method in substance which prevails at all the American institutions. But it should not be forgotten that a Massachusetts man, a contemporary of De l'Épée, nearly forty years before the Hartford Asylum was opened, made efforts to introduce a method very different, and in some respects preferable. This was Francis Green of Boston, whose book on the subject heads the list at the beginning of this article. As the first American who thoroughly understood and zealously advocated the instruction of deaf mutes, he deserves more fame than he has ever received.

* In 1772, De l'Épée mentioned three "signs of speech" as proper to be used with deaf mutes: (1.) Methodical signs artificially combined; (2.) Writing; (3.) *Viva voce* language. "This last," he adds, "*will appear, perhaps, incredible to many persons, but it is certain that from time to time we dictate our lessons viva voce, and without making any sign whatever.*" The operation is somewhat longer, and that hinders our making a constant practice of it; *in which, I grant very plainly, we may be in the wrong.*" See *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb*, March, 1861, p. 21.

† Clerc himself (who is still living) maintained stoutly the excellence of his master Sicard's method. In 1851 he said: "The Abbé Sicard has made as many good scholars as have been made since his decease, either here in the United States or in Europe." On the other hand, Mr. Luzerne Rae, in 1853, said of Sicard: "His system of methodical signs is a complete piece of charlatanry from beginning to end." See the *Proceedings of the Deaf and Dumb Conventions of 1851-53*. Both Clerc and Rae were teachers at Hartford.

Francis Green* was born in Boston in 1742, and died in Medford in 1807. His earlier and later years were spent in Massachusetts; but between 1776 and 1797, having sided with the mother country in our Revolution, he resided at intervals in New York, Halifax, and London. He took his Bachelor's degree at Harvard College in 1760, being at that time, like Washington, an officer in the British army. He served with credit at the siege of Louisburg in 1758, in the conquest of Martinique in 1761, and at the capture of Havana in 1762, and three years later sold his commission and engaged in trade at Boston. Here he married in 1769, and here his son Charles was born in 1772. At the age of six months the infant was found to be deaf, but no measures were taken to instruct him until his father accidentally heard of Mr. Braidwood's academy for the deaf and dumb at Edinburgh. What then took place is best described by Mr. Green himself.

"Those who know experimentally the tender concern of an only parent for an only son, even under the happiest circumstances of natural advantage, may imagine with what avidity the information of this academy was first received. Although the authority was unquestionable, I, like many others, (I acknowledge,) had doubts of the practicability of the business to any very great degree. I thought it my duty, however, to send my son across the Atlantic, upon Mr. Braidwood's agreeing to undertake the tuition of him, who accordingly received him in February, 1780. He was then eight years old. Although sprightly, sensible, and quick of apprehension, yet, having been either born deaf or having lost his hearing by sickness in earliest infancy, he could not at that time produce or distinguish vocal sounds, nor articulate at all. Neither had he any idea of the meaning of words, either when spoken, in writing, or in print; and for want of hearing, would doubtless have remained as speechless as he was born. I soon received the pleasing intelligence that he was beginning to articulate, and soon after that he could plainly express (upon seeing the form in characters) any word in the English language.

"My first visit to him was in May, 1781. It exceeds the power of words to convey any idea of the sensations experienced at this interview. The child, ambitious to manifest his acquisition, eagerly advanced, and addressed me with a distinct salutation of speech. He also

* A sketch of Francis Green may be found in Sabine's *American Loyalists* (1864), Vol. I. See also *American Annals*, March, 1861, cited *ante*, p. 522, note.

made several inquiries in short sentences. I then delivered him a letter from his sister (couched in the simplest terms), which he read so as to be understood; he accompanied many of the words, as he pronounced them, with proper gestures, significative of their meaning, such as in the sentence, 'write a letter by papa': on uttering the first word, he described the act of writing by the motion of his right hand; the second, by tapping the letter he held; the third, by pointing to me. He could at that time repeat the Lord's Prayer very properly, and some other forms, one of which in particular (which I had never heard before) I then took down in writing from his repetition; a convincing proof of his speaking intelligibly.

"THE PRAYER.

"O God! pardon all my sins, make me good and holy;—bless my father and my sister, and all my friends;—keep me from all evil, sin, and danger, and take my soul to heaven when I die, for Jesus' Christ's sake! Amen!"

"I found he could in that short time read distinctly, in a slow manner, any English book, although it cannot be supposed he had as yet learned the meaning of many words: he, however, made daily progress in that knowledge. As to writing, there can be no reason why deaf persons may not, by imitation, learn that art as well as any other persons; accordingly, I was not at all surprised that he could write very plainly; this, indeed, he did with uncommon readiness and dexterity, and seemed not a little proud of all his new attainments. I had also the satisfaction to see such specimens, at that time, in the proficiency of others who had been longer at this Academy, as left no doubt in my mind of his acquiring in due season a perfect acquaintance with language both oral and written; and that he would be capable of any art or science whatever, except music and oratory. Perfectly satisfied with his situation in a conscientious and respectable family, I left him to pursue his studies, with a degree of hope and joy which on this score I had never expected to have known. On my next visit, in September, 1782, his improvements were very perceptible in speech, the construction of language, and in writing: he had made a good beginning in arithmetic, and surprising progress in the arts of drawing and painting. I found him capable of not only comparing ideas and drawing inferences, but expressing his sentiments with judgment. On my desiring him to attempt something he thought himself unequal to, I set him the example by doing it myself, upon which he shook his head, and with a smile replied (distinctly, *viva voce*), '*You are a man, sir, I am a boy.*'

"Observing that he was inclined in company to converse with one

of his schoolfellows by the tacit finger-language, I asked him why he did not speak to him with his mouth. To this his answer was as pertinent as it was concise, 'He is deaf.' Many other instances I could mention of expressions of the mind, as proper as could be made by any boy of his age who had not the disadvantage of deafness." — *Vox Oculis Subjecta*, pp. 147 – 153.

This would certainly seem a very extraordinary story, were it not confirmed by all that we know of the success of the Braidwoods in their schools, both at Edinburgh (1760 – 1783), and at Hackney, near London (1783 – 1806). In regard to their Edinburgh school we have the testimony of Dr. Johnson, Lord Monboddo, Mr. Arnot, Pennant, Dr. Watson, and others.* But when we compare Mr. Green's statement with that of Sir Kenelm Digby, already quoted, and with the testimony of impartial persons who have visited the schools of Germany, we see that it contains nothing at all improbable. The judgment of Buffon, of the Abbé de l'Épée, and of the French Academy, on the pupils of Pereire, is equally in support of the probability of Mr. Green's account. And no person has yet questioned his veracity.

Shortly after he left school, Charles Green was drowned while shooting in the neighborhood of Halifax, N. S., where his father then resided. This was in 1787; and ten years afterwards, as has been said, Francis Green returned to his native town of Boston, but fixed his residence in Medford. We next find him writing articles for the newspapers, in relation to the education of deaf mutes.† On the 22d of March, 1803, he began a series of papers in the *New England Palladium*, a semi-weekly Boston newspaper. These were mainly translations from the writings of De l'Épée, but in his first communication he urges the importance of "a public institution or academical establishment, for the purpose of rescuing from ignorance and comparative uselessness that unfortunate class

* See Dr. Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands*; Lord Monboddo's *Progress of Language*; Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*; Pennant's *Tour through Scotland*; Watson's *Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb*. These writers were all eye-witnesses of what they describe.

† His book had appeared in 1783. It was noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1783; and in the *Boston Magazine* for December, 1784, and January, 1785. In 1790, Harvard College conferred on him the degree of *Master of Arts*.

of our fellow-creatures, the naturally *deaf*, commonly called the *deaf* and *dumb*." He goes on to say, "Whether this country be as yet ripe for the establishment of public academical institutions of this nature or not, the art may be practised with happy efficacy by any private individual."

The doubt here expressed by Mr. Green is still, after the lapse of more than sixty years, and after our population has trebled, entertained by a few persons in Massachusetts and a considerable number in Connecticut. But we apprehend that a great majority of the citizens of Massachusetts will feel, when the question is brought home to them, that this State at least is ripe for such establishments, and we regard it as a public benefit that Governor Bullock and the Board of Charities have brought the question to the notice of the Legislature and the people.

In their Second Annual Report, the Board of Charities discussed the whole subject of deaf-mute instruction, with a particular reference to the circumstances of Massachusetts. It was argued, with much force and candor, that the congregation of these unfortunates in special schools was an evil, but to some extent an unavoidable one; that the true policy is one of diffusion rather than of congregation; that the State, which now supports a hundred of these children in another State, should provide for their education within her own borders, where they would be under a stricter oversight of the State authorities, would be nearer their homes, and could profit by a variety of methods of instruction adapted to their varying ages and the precise nature of their infirmity. Reference was made to the mode of teaching by articulation; but the argument for instructing the deaf mutes of Massachusetts at home, instead of abroad, was not made to depend upon the adoption of that or any other special method. At the same time deserved praise was given to the government and the instructors of the Hartford Asylum, while some slight censure was bestowed on some parts of their system of management. This Report was made public about the 1st of March, 1866.

In May or June of the same year the Annual Report of the Hartford Asylum was written, although not published until July. To the surprise of those who had read the statements of the

Board of Charities, an attempt was made in this Report to make the question of the best education of deaf mutes turn mainly on the advantages or disadvantages of articulation. No less than fourteen pages were given to that subject, while half that number were devoted to the questions of congregation, expenditure, etc., and only a page or two to the principal recommendation of the Board of Charities, namely, that Massachusetts ought not to delegate the instruction of her deaf-mute children to a private establishment in another State. This was a complete inversion of the argument which the Hartford Asylum professed to be answering; and it was accompanied by some other circumstances also surprising. It was assumed, throughout the Hartford Report, that the Report of the Board of Charities expressed the views of Dr. Howe, the chairman, and of him alone; and great pains were taken to expose the alleged inconsistencies of that gentleman, as if the positions taken by six other gentlemen could be at all affected by any such *argumentum ad hominem*.

If the Directors of the Hartford Asylum had wished to promote in every way the establishment of deaf-mute schools in Massachusetts, they could not have taken a better course than to publish their Report. It has probably converted directly no small number of people to the side of the Board of Charities; and, by giving occasion to the pamphlet of Dr. Howe in reply, it has indirectly converted many more. It has precipitated the decision of the question by at least a year, and has done more than anything else to put an end to the monopoly of deaf-mute instruction in New England which Hartford has so long enjoyed.

In his Annual Address at the opening of the General Court of 1867, Governor Bullock brought the question before that body. He took the opportunity to pay a well-merited compliment to Dr. Howe, and plainly recommended that the suggestions of the Board of Charities should be carried into effect. A special committee was at once appointed to consider the matter, and the whole subject has been opened for discussion in the Legislature, in the newspapers, and before the people.

Hardly had the committee begun its sessions, when the friends of the new policy were surprised by the adhesion to

their views of the deaf mutes themselves. The hearings were fully attended by this class, who took the strongest interest in the discussion. They sent in petitions, held meetings, and passed resolutions. When it is considered that most of these persons were educated at Hartford, and bound to the Asylum there by strong ties of association and gratitude, their prompt adoption of opinions which find no favor in Hartford is the more remarkable. It must have been equally gratifying to those who seek to educate the deaf mutes in Massachusetts, to find that private beneficence had long been aiming at the same object. A wealthy gentleman in the valley of the Connecticut, without concert with the Board of Charities, but in complete accord with their suggestions, signified his readiness to endow liberally such a school as Massachusetts should need. Benevolent persons in other parts of the State also come forward with their contributions; so that, whatever action the Legislature may take, there seems to be no doubt that the cherished purpose of Francis Green will at last be accomplished, and Massachusetts will have a "public academy" of her own for deaf mutes.

Indeed, that is already decided. When, two or three years ago, a citizen of Massachusetts, whose little deaf daughter had derived great benefit from early instruction in articulation, went before a committee of the Legislature to ask the State to aid in establishing a school for deaf-mute children between the ages of five and ten years, he was met by the strong opposition of the Hartford Asylum, and could scarcely obtain a fair hearing. Defeated, but not disheartened, he set to work to show the State what could be done in such a school. With a few of his friends, he has established at Chelmsford a small school for teaching young children who lost their hearing at an early age, or who were born deaf, to articulate and read the lips. This school has been eminently successful; and it has followed the method used by Braidwood in the instruction of Charles Green, and by Bonet in the instruction of young Velasco, whom Sir Kenelm Digby saw in Spain. Miss Rogers, the teacher, although beginning with no knowledge of special methods for instructing the deaf and dumb, has found herself able to teach rapidly and thoroughly long before her pupils

reach the average age of admission at Hartford,—thus justifying the opinion of De l'Épée and Carton, who both maintained that an ordinary teacher could begin and carry on such a work with ease.* It is to be hoped that the State will guarantee to Miss Rogers the same sum for instructing poor children in articulation which is now paid for the support and instruction of the same class of pupils at Hartford. This amount is nominally one hundred and seventy-five dollars a year for each pupil; but, including the sum paid for clothing, and allowing for the occasional absence of a pupil, it really comes nearly up to two hundred dollars.

The hearings before the legislative committee, already mentioned, have brought out a great deal of information concerning methods and results of instruction, and the actual management of the Hartford Asylum, which will doubtless be printed by the committee as an appendix to their report. It was shown, among other things, that the government of the Asylum is entirely in the hands of a close corporation, all the members of which are residents of Hartford, and are about twenty in number. These gentlemen elect each other to office, and when a vacancy occurs, by death or removal from Hartford, they elect first a member of the corporation, and then assign him to the vacant office. No State out of the six or seven sending pupils there has the slightest voice in the government, and no city except Hartford.

By the original charter of the corporation, or by the by-laws first established, any persons subscribing one hundred dollars to the fund became Directors for life, and any subscribing two hundred dollars became Vice-Presidents for life. But no such

* The statement of the Abbé de l'Épée, in his letter of 1771, is thus translated by Francis Green: "To instruct the deaf and dumb how to dispose of their organs, in order to express sounds, and to form distinct words, is an operation which most certainly is neither long nor painful. The business is nothing more than to make them acquire the practice of it; that is the affair of the persons who dwell with them, or of a common master who teaches children to read." See *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb*, March, 1861, p. 15. The Abbé Carton's words are equally emphatic: "J'ose assurer, et j'accepte très-volontiers la responsabilité de la promesse, que tout instituteur, et surtout toute institutrice qui entreprendrait de montrer à écrire et à comprendre la signification des mots écrits, réussirait." See the *Proceedings of the Congrès International de Bienfaisance*, London, 1862, Tom. I. p. 303. Carton here advocates the admission of these children to the common schools.

officers appear to have been added for more than forty years, and all the original ones have died ; so that the present government represents neither the community of New England nor the original benefactors of the Asylum. The present Directors have expressed a willingness to modify this extraordinary form of government, so as to give a better representation to that considerable portion of America which lies outside the city limits of Hartford.

The officers of the Asylum have, at these hearings, publicly withdrawn their opposition to primary schools for the early education of deaf mutes. These have long been advocated by Carton in Belgium, Blanchet in France, and Arrowsmith, Copleston, and others in England. Indeed, for several years they have been established in Paris, at the suggestion of Dr. Blanchet, and under the patronage of the government ; and a society in England is seeking to establish them in that country also.

The pamphlet by Mr. Copleston, which ends our list of books at the head of this article, was written partly to advocate such schools, and to show the evils which grow out of the existing method of providing for deaf mutes in great asylums. The course of its argument is very similar to that already cited as used by the Board of Charities. It appears that Mr. Gladstone has expressed his doubts "as to the propriety of these institutions, on account of their tendency to bring the deaf and dumb too much or exclusively together" ; and that Professor Owen, in 1862, "especially referred as a physiologist to the lamentable results" of deaf-mute intermarriages, which are promoted by these asylums, "and strongly advocated a social system of education." Many other authorities are quoted by Mr. Copleston to illustrate the disadvantages of large establishments, and the practicability of teaching articulation, on which he insists much more strongly than Dr. Howe does.

In this article we have collected especially the information bearing upon the teaching of articulation, not because we regard it as the only desirable method of instructing deaf mutes, but because justice has never been done to this method in America. It has been feebly practised, upheld by but few, and denounced as useless and impracticable by the great majority

of those who have discussed it. Elsewhere it has been tried with favor and success, and it is desirable that it should have a fair trial here.

- ART. VII. — 1. *The Poetical Works of HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.* Revised Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1866. 4 vols. 16mo.
2. *The Prose Works of HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.* Revised Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1866. 3 vols. 16mo.

THE publication of a complete and uniform edition of Mr. Longfellow's Works is an event which suggests to us not so much question as acknowledgment of his excellence, and we have here rather to celebrate a fame already assured than to enter upon a critical analysis of his poetry. It is yet too soon to measure the whole obligation of American letters to him, and it seems somewhat late to reason minutely of the fact of his genius. We doubt if criticism be the hazel wand that points to the hidden sources of the living springs; but even if it were so, we should think it rather idle to flourish it with an air of divination over clearness and sweetness that long ago sparkled into the sun. It is not necessary to dwell upon Mr. Longfellow's delicate and beautiful feeling,

“As pure as water and as good as bread,”

or his exquisite intellectual refinement, which has troubled shallowness before now with doubts of his original power. Nor is it possible for our time to determine accurately the greatness of this original power, or to separate it from the manifold acquirements interwoven with it. Enough that the whole is admirable, and that the quickening faculty is unmistakable.

There is something, indeed, in all the aspects of these familiar poems that appeals to us in proof of the purely creative and poetical nature of Mr. Longfellow's mind. It is very noticeable how large is the proportion of his dramatic and narrative pieces, and how, when obeying his own instincts, he seems